

Gender relations and ideological clashes in the heterotopic web space /

Relações de gênero e embates ideológicos no espaço heterotópico da web

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ABSTRACT

Social networks form a heterotopic space of discursive disputes and ideological conflicts. In 2016, a feminist group started the campaign #meuamigosecreto on the social network Twitter, in order to use the virtual environment as a means of disseminating everyday ‘machista’ practices. In 2018, when gender issues reached an important place in the electoral debate among the presidential candidates, social networks became a conflict field when two manifestations erupted on the theme: #meubolsominionsecreto and #minhafeministasecreta. Thus, in this research, we propose, based on the French Discourse Analysis, to analyze the discursive formations of the hashtags #meuamigosecreto, #minhafeministasecreta and #meubolsominionsecreto. To do so, the corpus of this research considers three tweets of each hashtag mentioned. When analyzing the statements produced in the campaigns #meuamigosecreto, #meubolsominionsecreto and #minhafeministasecreta, we can notice that the three campaigns start from the resumption of memories about gender issues, especially with regard to the exercise of sexuality and feminist claims on the subject. The meaning effects of these statements reveal social conflicts arising from enunciation spaces, from the social conditions assumed by different socially organized subjects. The hashtags #meuamigosecreto and #meubolsominionsecreto conform themselves to a feminist discursive formation, through discourses reporting everyday ‘machista’ practices which lead to a set of prohibitions for women. In an antagonistic way, #minhafeministasecreta is part of an anti-feminist discursive formation which misrepresents the principles governing feminism, moving away from the real arguments that govern the movement.

KEYWORDS: Discourse analysis; Social networks; Ideological conflicts; Gender issues.

RESUMO

As redes sociais constituem um espaço heterotópico de disputas discursivas e embates ideológicos. No ano de 2016, um coletivo feminista iniciou na rede social Twitter a campanha #meuamigosecreto, com o propósito de utilizar o ambiente virtual como meio de divulgação de práticas machistas cotidianas. No ano de 2018, no qual as questões de gênero alcançaram importante espaço no debate eleitoral entre os presidenciáveis, as redes sociais tornaram-se campo de conflito ao irromper duas manifestações a respeito do tema: a #meubolsominionsecreto e #minhafeministasecreta. Assim, neste artigo, propomos, à luz da Análise do Discurso Francesa, a analisar as formações discursivas das hashtags #meuamigosecreto, #minhafeministasecreta e #meubolsominionsecreto. Para tanto, o corpus deste estudo é composto por três tweets de cada hashtag mencionada. Ao analisar enunciados produzidos nas campanhas #meuamigosecreto, #meubolsominionsecreto e #minhafeministasecreta, podemos perceber que as três campanhas partem da retomada de memórias sobre questões de gênero, principalmente no que diz respeito ao exercício da sexualidade e reivindicações feministas sobre o tema. Os efeitos de sentido desses enunciados revelam conflitos sociais decorrentes dos espaços de enunciação, dos lugares sociais assumidos por diferentes sujeitos socialmente organizados. As hashtags #meuamigosecreto e #meubolsominionsecreto se conformam a uma formação discursiva feminista, a partir de discursos que denunciam práticas machistas cotidianas, que acarretam uma série de interdições para as mulheres. De forma antagônica, a #minhafeministasecreta parte de uma formação discursiva antifeminista que deturpa os princípios que regem o feminismo, afastando-se das reais discussões que pautam o movimento.

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1 Introduction

In Brazil, the statement “secret friend” refers to a typical game of Christmas celebrations which takes place between family, friends and colleagues. In this game, the participants draw the name of another participant and then they must keep the raffled name in secret until the gift exchange day, a moment in which some tips will be given by the participants about the characteristics of the one who will receive the gift so that the other participants can find out who it is about. Over the years, this game has been redesigned and reappeared, such as “sweet friend”, “false friend”, “literary friend” and so on. Each time any characteristic of this game is changed, the initial statement which denominates it, the statement “secret friend” is updated.

In 2016, in a context of legislative achievements such as the advent of “Maria da Penha Law” and the “Femicide Law” (ratified in 2015), which represented some important achievements in combating gender inequality and the punishing of violence against women, a feminist campaign emerged in the heterotopic environment of the internet during the Christmas period; this campaign was headed by the Group “*Não me Kahlo*” (which means “I won’t be silent”), entitled “#meuamigosecreto” (#mysecretfriend), which aimed to report daily *machismo* cases which emerged from stereotypes of gender roles in society, especially with regard to sexuality, more precisely the sexual conduct of women. The campaign resumed memory spaces from the statement “my secret friend is” constantly used at the acme moment of the “secret friend” game, in which the characteristics of the raffled friend are presented, so that others can guess who it is.

In the political campaign of 2018, in which gender issues reached an important place in the debate between the presidential candidates, motivated by the far right-wing candidate Jair Bolsonaro, social networks became a conflict field when two manifestations about the theme emerged: the hashtags #*meubolsominionsecreto* (#mysecretbolsominion) and #*minhafeministasecreta* (#mysecretfeminist). The first hashtag emerged in response to the discriminatory speech espoused by the candidate Jair Bolsonaro. The movement promoted a secret friend in social networks, ironically

criticizing the moral conduct of Bolsonaro's voters, which reproduces the candidate's speeches. The last hashtag, in turn, emerged as a counterpoint: the rival field produced criticism on the reality of Haddad's women voters, viewed as submissive, contradictory and divergent from what they used to speak.

Therefore, in this research, we propose, based on the French Discourse Analysis, to analyze the discursive formations of the hashtags #meuamigosecreto (#mysecretfriend), #minhafeministasecreta (#mysecretfeminist) and #meubolsominionsecreto (#mysecretbolsominion). To do so, we will mobilize the concepts 'ideological formation' and 'discursive formation', 'inter-discourse' and 'discursive memory' to substantiate the intended discussions. In terms of methodological trajectory, it is related to a descriptive-interpretative bias research of a qualitative scope. In fact, it is a field in which theory and methodology are not divorced, and the *corpus*, expressly formed by posts published on the social network Twitter through hashtags, the use of description and interpretation occur simultaneously into a single beat (PECHEUX, 2012).

For purposes of analysis, the *corpus* of this research is compounded by three tweets of each hashtag mentioned. We highlight that the gesture of interpretation of the selection of the investigated material was defined by the categorization into two themes: gender and sexuality. This happened because, while the overall subject of the Twitter discussions was feminist, there was a scattering of speeches, which made us seek regularity among many approaches to the subject. The discourses on gender and sexuality, therefore, presented greater recurrence in relation to the others.

Structurally speaking, this research is organized as follows: in the next section, we will discuss the hashtag notion, which in line with a specific statement produces some discursive practices in the heterotopic web space. Then, through the contributions of Paveau's memory, we approach the theoretical modes produced by the author. In the next topic, we will deal with the notion of discursive formation that intersects with the last section, which analyzes the hashtags produced in Twitter. Finally, we made some final considerations that guided the investigations carried out in this research.

2 Hashtag as a discursive practice

Considering media as a field of studies, especially the web, we align our ideas with Gregolin's (2015) proposal, in which the internet is quintessentially a heterotopic space which "all kinds of other consensual and conflicting spaces intersect; we welcome all kinds of statements and visibility forms in a cartography in which ambiguous permissiveness and control are mixed" (GREGOLIN, 2015, p. 202). Gregolin's proposal is based on the ship analogy made by Foucault, also a heterotopic space, in which there is neither encounter nor mismatch, where time is lost or found, since it is a heterocrony. Paraphrasing Foucault, it is a "kind of place that is out of all places, although it is actually located. Because it is absolutely different as to all the allocations it reflects and over speech, I will call such a place, as opposed to utopia, a heterotopia. "(FOUCAULT, 2013, p. 116).

Therefore, heterotopia can be understood as an intersection between the real and the imaginary, the point where discourses intersect and interlink. Such is the virtual, a quintessentially space where utterances differ, converge, enter networks of knowledge and power, and it can result in cyber-cultural movements such as those occurring in the social network Twitter, by allowing the existence of manifests, claims or protests through hashtags. About hashtags, we understand them as discursive practices created before driven or spontaneously erupted events in the linear course of History.

Michel Foucault (2009, p.133) describes discursive practice as "a set of anonymous, historical rules, always determined in time and space, which defined, in a certain time and for a certain social, economic, geographical or linguistic area, the conditions of exercise of the illustrative function. "

It is through the presence of the hash key that subjects can demarcate, for instance, their ideological position, as it happened in the identity political manifestations regarding the discussions about gender represented by the speeches: #meuamigosecreto (#mysecretfriend), #meubolsominionsecreto (#mysecretbolsominion) and #minhafeministasecreta (#mysecretfeminist).

Hashtag creates a discursive game, produces statements, gathers in a single space several ideas and comments about a certain theme. This mechanism allows the "encounter of the historical with the linguistic in a very singular way" (SILVEIRA, 2013, p. 02). In promoting this encounter, the produced statements come and go in a set of returns: hashtags burst on the web, they have a duration, and then they disappear;

when they come back, they are (re)signified: in other words, although they resurface, the event of a certain moment resigns it, just as Foucault points out in his inaugural lecture at the *Collège de France*: "new is not in what is said but in the event of its return" (FOUCAULT, 2017, p. 25). The emergence of the hashtags #meubolsominionsecreto (#mysecretbolsominion) and #minhafeministasecreta (#mysecretfeminist) are practical examples of this return. Although they are new, they are also reconfigured from a previously discoursed hashtag: #meuamigosecreto (#mysecretfriend). The meaning of discursive practices, therefore, is alternated from the historical context on which they are produced.

3 Discursive memory and meaning effects

The notion of discursive memory appeared for the first time in 1981 through J-J Courtine's researches in France (PAVEAU, 2005; 2013), and thereafter its representation as a concept is explicitly explored in Discourse Analysis, although the complexity that involves its use may differ. Our aim is to dialogue with the concept by looking at the considerations based on Paveau, selecting short discussions developed by him, and briefly presenting considerations by Courtine, Pêcheux, and Foucault.

Firstly, we should notice that memory should be understood as plural: i.e., discursive memory "is a situated function, which depends on many parameters such as culture, age, gender, social position, literacy coefficient, experience and so on" (PAVEAU, 2013, p. 140, author's emphasis added). The relation between one parameter to the other one is based on "experience" (PAVEAU, 2013), since we participate in movements – as #meuamigosecreto's protest on web –, in a certain time and socio-historical moment. Thus, through that situation, we constitute memories that are retaken, redesigned or updated.

Using the expression memory in speech, Paveau supports the link between history and the social factor, in which, according to her, is

Closely connected to the socio-historical and cognitive conditions of discourse production, to the extra-discursive data and, mainly, to the pre-discursive which participate in the elaboration and circulation of verbal productions of social subjects and culturally situated. (PAVEAU, 2005, p. 02)

In the explanation, the relation between the pre-discursive and the discursive memory in which it seems to be intertwined draws our attention. The equation basically is: there is a discourse in which a linguistic element is present, more precisely in a current discourse, which refers – or activates – a pre-discourse. For this to happen, however, some phenomena are identified, such as "collectivity, immateriality, transmissibility, *experientiality*, inter-subjectivity and discursiveness" (PEVEAU, 2013, p. 150-151). Each phenomenon, if taken as a tool for analysis, assumes a singular framework. Without widening in the questions' merits, this is expressed as follows:

– its collectivity, the result of a co-elaboration between individuals and between the individual and society; - its immateriality, since the pre-discursiveness is by tacit order (that is, not explicitly, as opposed to implicit); - its transmissibility, on the horizontal axis of encyclopedic communicability (the idea of sharing) and on the vertical axis of transmission through discursive lines (the role of memory); its experientiality, since they allow the subject to organize and, also, to anticipate their discursive behavior; - its inter-subjectivity, since the criteria of mobilization are relational, not logical; - its discursiveness, in short, since they are linguistically signaled. (PEVEAU, 2007, p. 318)

Memory, in this entanglement of phenomena imbricated to discourse, is the main agent, since, as we have already mentioned, it resumes, rescues and reconfigures the meanings of a new discourse presented.

Thus, memory is evident in the enunciations and it is configured from already said utterances and it erupts in the actuality of the event. In "Analysis of political discourse: the communist discourse addressed to Christians", Courtine (2009, p.106) considers that "The notion of discursive memory refers to the historical existence of the utterance within discursive practices ruled by ideological apparatus (...)", and therefore it is a system of archive conservation and diffusion network that allows the resurgence of certain utterances. For the author, the discursive memory is evidenced through the relation between inter-discourse and intra-discourse.

From Courtine's thoughts, Michel Pêcheux highlights the importance of the concept "discursive memory" for Discourse Analysis. In "The paper of memory", Pêcheux emphasizes that

Memory tends to absorb the event, as a mathematical set goes on to conjecture the next term in a view of the beginning of the set, but the discursive event, causing interruption, can undo this "regularization" and retrospectively produces another set under the first one, unmask the emergence of a new set that was not constituted as such and thus it is the product of the event; the event, in this case, displaces and deregulates the implicit ones associated with the previous regularization system. (PÊCHEUX, 2015, p. 46)

Thus, on one hand, there would always be a game of force that aims to keep a pre-existing regularization and, on the other hand, the event that causes a "deregulation" and disturbs the network of "implicit".

In "The Order of Speech," Michel Foucault (1996, p. 25) emphasizes that "the new is not in what is said, but in the event in its return"; thus, there is a return of a certain statement in new conditions of enunciation.

We consider that the concept's comprehension of "discursive memory" and its performance is productive and, directly or indirectly, it helps on the analytical gestures of discourse analysts, specifically in the reading of our *corpus*.

4 Discursive formation and irruption of antagonistic statements

In "The archeology of knowledge", the French philosopher Michel Foucault (2009) presents the concept of discursive formation as being

In the case where it is possible to describe a certain number of statements, similar dispersion system, and in the case that between the objects, types of enunciation, concepts, thematic choices, if a regularity can be defined (an order, correlations, positions and functions, transformations), we will say, by convention, that it is a discursive formation. (FOUCAULT, 2009, p.43)

From this concept, Michel Pêcheux considers that the discourses emerge as possible utterances from a certain discursive formation. Therefore, the subject is constituted from a position that is related to the determined Discursive Formation. In turn, ideological formations involve several interrelated discursive formations which determine what can and should be said from a certain position at a certain scenario.

Fiorin (2009, p. 32) argues that "Just as an ideological formation, understood as the worldview of a certain social condition, imposes what to think, a discursive formation determines what to say." Thus, the discursive formation delimits what can or cannot be said, by the subject in a certain scenario. According to Maingueneu (1998: 43), discourse should be considered as "an activity of subjects enrolled in certain contexts." These statements relate directly to considerations of meaning and discourse in Courtine (2009, p. 73), "words, expressions, propositions receive their Discursive Formation meaning in which they are produced; it is also important to add that this characteristic is not isolated from the contradictory relations that a DF establishes with another DF."

The campaign #meuamigosecreto (#mysecretfriend) appears in a context of legislative and social achievements regarding equal rights in Brazil, and on the other hand, a reality in which some practices and daily habits, which bring a lot of discrimination to women, are still highlighted. In turn, the #meubolsominionsecreto (#mysecretbolsominion) and #minhafeministasecreta (#mysecretfeminist) campaigns emerge in a context of electoral battle, in which the conflicts about gender and sexuality issues had gained prominence. The statements that erupted since the campaign are constituted from antagonistic discursive formations, originating from several ideological formations.

5 Internet as a space of ideological¹ clashes about gender issues

Feminism is a political movement that has emerged as resistance to the male domination's forms. Stuart Hall (2006), in "Questions of cultural identity" emphasizes that

Feminism is part of that group of 'new social movements' which emerged during the 1960s ... along with student revolts, counter-cultural and anti-war youth movements, civil rights struggles, revolutionary movements in the "Third World", peace movements ... (HALL, 2006, p. 44).

¹ According to the theoretical contribution adopted in this research, it is understood as ideology "this set of ideas, these representations that serve to justify and explain the social order, the conditions man's life and the relations that he maintains with other men." (FIORIN, 2009, p. 28)

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Feminism has among its aims the search for gender equality in society, women's freedom and autonomy, respect for sexual and reproductive rights and the end of violence against women.

However, this search is still marked by a lot of discrimination and the creation of stereotypes around those women who call themselves "feminists." The term "feminist" is daily used in a negative and stereotyped way. As the African writer Chimamanda Adichie considers in her work *We should all be feminists*, "The word 'feminist', as the very idea of feminism, is also limited by stereotypes" (ADICHIE, 2015, p.8).

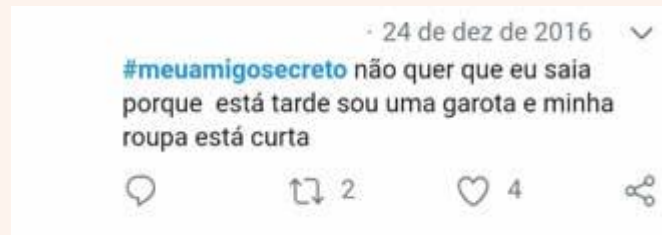
It is based on these ideological conflicts that involve, on the one hand, those women who fight for gender equality in social relations and, on the other hand, those people who minimize this struggle that emerge the hashtags in which we have been analyzing.

Firstly, in order to analyze the discourse formations of the hashtags #meuamigosecreto (#mysecretfriend), #minhafeministasecreta (#mysecretfeminist) and #meubolsominionsecreto (#mysecretbolsominion), we will analyze three tweets published under #meuamigosecreto, which has appeared in 2016, during the Christmas period, headed by the feminist Collective "Não me Kahlo" in order to report everyday 'machista' practices.

When analyzing the tweets published under #meuamigosecreto which makes up the corpus of this research, we can affirm that they all start from a Feminist Discursive Formation, which ironically complains and reports common misogynist practices in our society, especially with regard to the identification of allowed and not allowed conducts from the female or male gender.

In the statements described in figures 01 and 02, the discourses associated with certain interdictions that afflict women are taken up from the delimitation of what is allowed and what is prohibited. In these statements, from a subject-feminist position, common sexist everyday practices are reported in a patriarchal rooted society which tries to limit female behavior by imposing limits, such as their individual freedom to leave home whenever they want to and how to dress. These are observed attitudes in Picture 01.

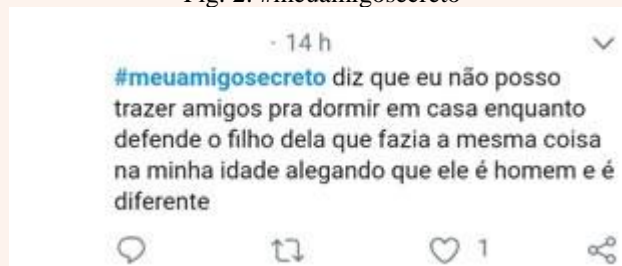
Fig. 1: #meuamigosecreto



Source: *Twitter.com*, 2018

In the statement described in figure 2, criticism is made of how families create men and women differently. While for women there is imposed a set of prohibitions, especially concerning their sexuality, such as beginning, practice of sex before marriage and so on, for men, there is a greater flexibility on these aspects, including a boost for their sexual initiation at an early stage.

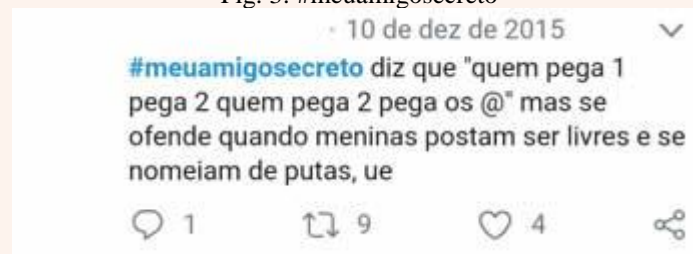
Fig. 2: #meuamigosecreto



Source: *Twitter.com*, 2018

In the third tweet analyzed, there is a report regarding the permissiveness of male attitudes of relating sexually to several women, whereas such an attitude is rejected and negatively seen when it is adopted by a woman, usually stereotyped from associated memories with the subject "whore" in our society.

Fig. 3: #meuamigosecreto



Source: *Twitter.com*, 2018

Irony is present from the marked heterogeneity shown through the quotes "who hooks up 1 hooks up 2 who hooks up 2 hooks up the '@'", which is used to describe

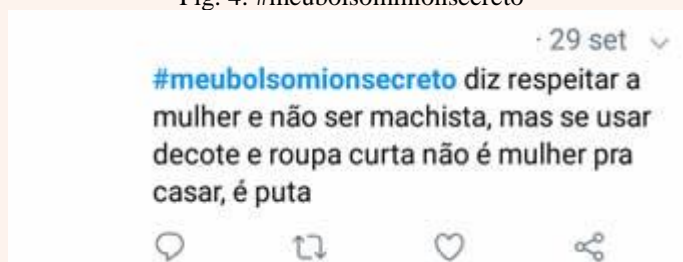
those who "hooks up everybody", including regardless of gender, since the "@" refers to men, women and LGBTQ.

It is interesting to emphasize that in this statement there is a slippage of meaning in the word "whore", which in a masculine discursive formation is used in a negative way, usually associated to the prostitution practice, promiscuity, the one who has no decency, libertine or shamelessness. The discourse reconfigures in a feminist formation, erupting in a positive way, as well as what happens with the term "Slut" when it is used by feminists to call the movement "SlutWalk".

The hashtag #meubolsominionsecreto emerges in social networks in 2018, through an electoral dispute context, in which women, based on the feminist agenda, unite against a certain candidate caught in several 'machista' conducts. The campaign's title comes from a reconfiguration of the statement "#meuamigosecreto". Through the pejorative use of the term "bolsominion", which emerges from the combination of the leader's name 'Bolsonaro' and the characters from the movie 'Dispicable Me', the minions, yellow characters who seek to follow a villainous leader and who are associated with Bolsonaro's voters who has adopted the shirt of the yellow Brazilian soccer team to go to the movements to support the leader. Thus, the campaign resumes statements produced under the hashtag #meuamigosecreto, and from these statements it reports 'machista' practices.

In figure 04, when reporting a 'machista' practice from the resumption of a statement of the 'machista' Discursive Formation, the term "whore" appears with its most usual meaning, as the identity of women who have conducts opposed to women identified as "to marry-women", in criticism to men who do not accept the term "machista", but they characterize women in an antagonistic way as "whores" or "to marry-women", even by the way they dress.

Fig. 4: #meubolsominionsecreto



Source: *Twitter.com*, 2018

In figure 05, the report is also made from the resumption of ordinary statements to the antifeminist Discursive Formation that calls feminists "mimizentas", i.e., those women who discuss irrelevant questions. In this statement, there is an unmasking of the typical behaviors of the antifeminist men, who act through their daily attitudes in a way contrary to the discourses they preach in society in defense of life and against abortion, one of the most controversial subjects, which is a dispute object between feminists and their opponents.

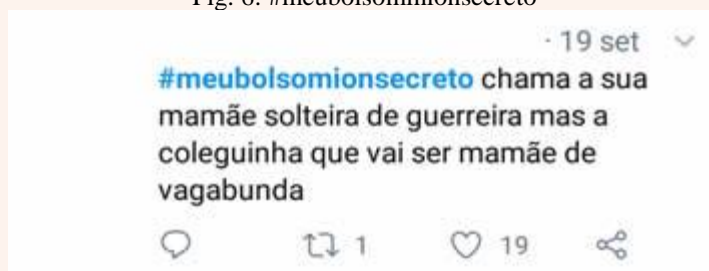
Fig. 5: #meubolsomionsecreto



Source: *Twitter.com*, 2018

Finally, in figure 06, there is also a report and irony in relation to those who demean single women who have children, calling them pejoratively "sluts"; however, when the same happens to them and their mothers are single, they call them "warriors".

Fig. 6: #meubolsomionsecreto

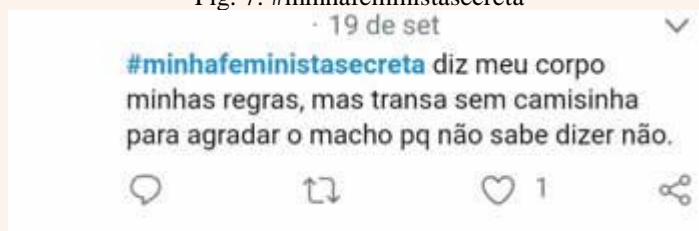


Source: *Twitter.com*, 2018

The hashtags #meuamigosecreto and #meubolsomionsecreto are derived from a Feminist Discursive Formation, and through the unmasking, they seek to report some 'machista' practices, especially in the family scenario, which entails a set of prohibitions for women.

In turn, the hashtag #minhafeministasecreta emerges in opposition to the previous campaign #meubolsominionsecreto, which seeks to stereotype feminist women from some attitudes that contradict the main issues of the movement. But not only: these critics move away from feminist ideals, misrepresenting them. The analyzed tweets have a sexual connotation, always permeated by a characteristic of the feminist movement, such as women power. In the analyzed statements, the user minimizes the statement "my body, my rules", reflected on movements that seek women's autonomy and sexual rights. The discussion disqualifies the feminist movement by attempting to contradict the feminist motto to a sexual stance of accepting to have sex without a condom in order "to please the male because (she) does not know how to say no," which would be in conflict with the position advocated by the movement.

Fig. 7: #minhafeministasecreta



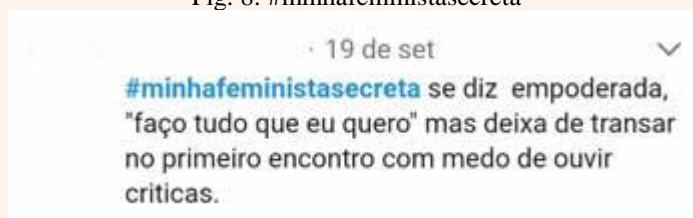
Source: *Twitter.com*, 2018

Louro (2000, p. 10), in showing the history of the sexuality discourse of the Brazilian reality, reveals that the female bodies are educated to be subordinated to the society rules, that is, "docile, discreet, gentle, to obey, to ask permission, to apologize." The statement "my body, my rules" emerges as a discourse of subversion to this normalizing thought and, not mistakenly, to the submission of women to unprotected sex in order "to please the male." The discourse of empowerment on the body, among other subjects, also refers to the idea of legalizing and allowing abortion, so dear to women's struggle for rights to decide for themselves.

Consequently, the statement in figure 08 is not far from the criticism in figure 07: it is a matter of demoralizing by the sexual path a certain feminine attitude, to which the hashtag #minhafeministasecreta of this specific statement refers. The *heterogeneity shown* (AUTHIER-REVUZ, 1990) "I do everything I want to", in other words, associates with "my body, my rules", which is excluded by not allowing sex in the first meeting. Having sex on the first date would be a synonym of empowerment, in the

Internet user's point of view, and makes the probable criticisms ignored by the woman. By denying sex on the "first date," the woman escapes her own speech. In this regard, we see, once again, the misrepresentation of the feminist expression, which has no relation to the sexual experience, as we had already pointed out.

Fig. 8: #minhafeministasecreta



Source: *Twitter.com*, 2018

The last analysis does not distance itself from the other configurations of the highlighted hashtag meaning, although it is closer to the criticism to women's morals, focusing on a possible extra-matrimonial relationship experienced by the secret feminist on the internet. The hashtag #EleNãO [#NotHim] is a reference to the opposite movement to the campaign of the presidential candidate Jair Bolsonaro, who presented in his campaign's speech: 'machismo', misogyny, patriarchy, in short, the regression in relation to the gender issues. The irony present in the Internet user's statement is in the marking of the hashtag #EleSim [#YesHim], implying a promiscuous, trivial and vulgar woman, revealing that her secret friend defends the rights of women, but she meets "married men", and in theory, harming other women and having an attitude which disagrees with the principle of sorority among women propagated by the movement.

Fig. 9: #minhafeministasecreta



Source: *Twitter.com*, 2018

It is worth pointing out that the hashtags #meubolsomionsecreto and #minhafeministasecreta are constituted by discursive polemics, marked by the inter-comprehension, explained by Maingueneau (2005) as a situation in which two

discursive formations create conflicts: while one statement is accepted, the other one is rejected, depending in the way it is "interpreted". It means that the controversy is read by the opponent from his own view, with his semantic view, that is, "each discursive formation has its own way of interpreting its Other" (MAINGUENEAU, 2005, p. 108). The feminist camp, in this way, establishes confrontations, "given its strong critical and political potential" (HOLLANDA, 1994, p. 7).

Conclusion

When analyzing the utterances produced in the campaigns #meuamigosecreto (#mysecretfriend), #meubolsominionsecreto (#mysecretbolsominion) and #minhafeministasecreta (#mysecretfeminist), we can see that the three campaigns begin from the memories resumption about gender issues, mainly with regard to the exercise of sexuality and feminist claims on the topic. On the other hand, the #minhafeministasecreta (#mysecretfeminist) campaign arises from an antifeminist discursive formation that reproaches some attitudes of women who claim equality. In fact, it is a discursive practice that misrepresents the principles that govern feminism by attributing sexual characteristics to gender practices, moving away from the real discussions that guide the feminist movement.

The meaning effects of these statements reveal social conflicts arising from the spaces of enunciation, from the social conditions assumed by different socially organized subjects.

#Meuamigosecreto and #meubolsominionsecreto campaigns conform to a feminist discursive formation, from discourses reporting everyday 'machista' practices that lead to a set of prohibitions for women.

In an antagonistic way, #minhafeministasecreta is part of an antifeminist discursive formation that misrepresents the principles governing feminism, moving away from the real arguments that govern the movement.

It is worth highlighting that the hashtags #meubolsominionsecreto and #minhafeministasecreta were promoted during the political context of the presidential campaign in 2018, which may justify the furious ideological conflict in relation to

#meubolsominionsecreto, since it appeared in counterpoint to the critics of the activism
#minhafeministasecreta.

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